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THE LIFE CYCLE. I. BIRTH TO ADOLESCENCE

PREGNANCY CUSTOMS

As is frequently the case in primitive patrilineal societies, Mapuche wives are anxious to bear offspring, and boys are particularly desired. There is no failure to associate pregnancy with sexual intercourse, but supernatural agents may be invoked to help bring about fertilization. On rare occasions an elderly woman, presumably past childbearing, claims to have become pregnant without copulation. In such cases she attributes her condition to a vision, *perimontu*, in which a fantastic and supposedly supernatural beast possessed her. If her child is born alive, it is allowed to die for fear that it will develop into a monster. J. M. Collío, who told me of this belief, went on to say that a young woman would be laughed at if she claimed to have become pregnant without having had sexual relations.

Barren women consult a female shaman, *machi*, who specializes in such matters. Treatment usually includes drinking the blood of a sacrificed sheep or other animal and swallowing a concoction made from a plant called *wakachu* ("maize grass").[1] Sterility is regarded as incurable if the *machi* decides that it is witch caused, in which case, in Collío's words, "there is nothing to be done but to allow the husband to take another woman."

In some instances a woman who is eager to have a son, whether or not she is already pregnant, may wear the silver figure of a warrior, *aukafe wentru adentu* ("war-man-image"), attached to her breast ornament, *trapelakucha*. In other cases such a woman may suck a little milk from the breast of a relative who is nursing a male child, or else she may seek permission to eat from the same dish with a man who has recently become the father of a son.

In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky,

[1] *Wakachu* may also be known as *nakamahi*, which Augusta (1916, I: 244) identified as *Paspalum virgatum* Sw.; family Gramineae.

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wenumapu ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which, because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[2] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyülchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyülchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyülchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation. There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms are more likely to have offspring.

Although children are usually greatly desired, there are special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abortions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[3] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[4] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko* ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche, *Kul-en*).

[2] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[3] The Spanish term is *patagua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrceugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[4] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

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kul·on). Abortions are rarely sought, however, even among unmarried women, and are ordinarily performed only in conjunction with an act of witchcraft known as *koftun*, the aim of which is to render a worthless lover impotent or sterile.

I was told of no current pregnancy tabus, but Cooper stated: "It was taboo for an expectant mother to stand on the threshold of the hut";[5] and Guevara said that pregnant women were not allowed to visit the sick, watch hockey games or races, or partake of certain foods lest they bear twins.[6] All sources agree that intercourse is not forbidden during the period of gestation.

If a mother of small youngsters finds herself with child, she is likely to prepare them for the coming event by saying that a bird appeared to her in a dream and promised to send the family a new baby for a playmate. She then asks the children to be good to the infant when it arrives. Conventionally, Araucanian children are supposed to be ignorant of the circumstances pertaining to childbirth, and they are not permitted to be present when a birth takes place.

PARTURITION

Unlike the custom of earlier days,[7] a contemporary mother is expected to bear her children within her own *ruka*, and some of the more sophisticated women even go to maternity hospitals in the cities. The process of childbearing is called *choyüin*. On the reservations when the time for delivery draws near, a section of the house is set apart, and no one may come there except those who are assigned to help the patient. Young children are particularly forbidden to approach or touch their mothers, and it is the common practice for all housemates who are not assisting with the case to absent themselves as soon as labor begins.

A parturient woman is usually attended by a midwife or a

[5] Cooper, 1946, p. 732.
[6] Guevara, 1911, p. 285.
[7] There is a sharp contrast between the childbirth customs reported by informants in 1948 and the harsh picture drawn in Latcham, 1909, pp. 359–60.

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833 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, [842] even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care [837] is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

836 Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend ● 847 to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take ad- [584] vantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they 754 court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *koftun*.[4] *Koftun* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Koftun may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

582 Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

[4] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 733.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

684 When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

836 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

684 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to [548] pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

674 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during 935 their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Laws.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lavquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Telvun-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Ina-piva-mapu*

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 Sister's grand-daughter, *chale choquem.*
Father's brother, *malyi.*
First cousins male in general, *udam penyi.*
" " female, *udam lamuen.*
Second cousins, *epuchi udam penyi*, or *epuchi udam lamuen.*
Father's sister, *palu.*
Mother's brother, *huecu.*
Mother's sister, *niukentu.*

Marriage relations.
Wife's father, *puinyimo.*
" mother, *nanen.*
" brother, *vilyica.*
" sister, *nyaltu.*

The collateral relations took the same names:—
Husband's father, *Kempu.*
" mother; *Llalla.*
" brother, *ngilyanyi.*
" sister, *kerun.*

The other relations by matrimony took the names of the corresponding blood relations:—

Stepfather, *pelcuchao.*
Stepmother, *nyenye.*
Stepson, *malyi notem.*
Stepdaughter, *malyi miahue.*
Wife, *cure.*
Husband, *vuta* (*grande*).
Consort (of either sex), *pinyom.*
Mistress, *unyam.*
Children in general, *conyi.*
Natural children, *vuchen.*

854 [1657] 847 845 In general the Araucano women have limited families, and, owing to the little care their offspring receive, the infant mortality is very great. As soon as they can run about the children are left to their own resources almost absolutely, and from a very early age take an active part in the licence and debauches of their parents. Owing to the continual warfare and the desire to bring up robust and warlike descendants, all misformed or delicate children were slain at birth. Twin children were considered unlucky, and either one was brought up in the family of some near relative as their child, or it was killed at once. A child born feet foremost was also considered unlucky.

595 *Marriage Customs.*—Polygamy is very generally practised among the Araucanos, the only limit to the number of wives a man may possess being his ability to

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

feast, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of its blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. South of Toltén, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned lest she die. (On kuga names, see supra under Kinship, p. 723.)

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 78): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with boards or else a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (illustrated in: Smith, 1855, p. 213; Latcham, 1909, pls. 34–35; cf. Moesbach, 1936, pp. 186–88 for description).

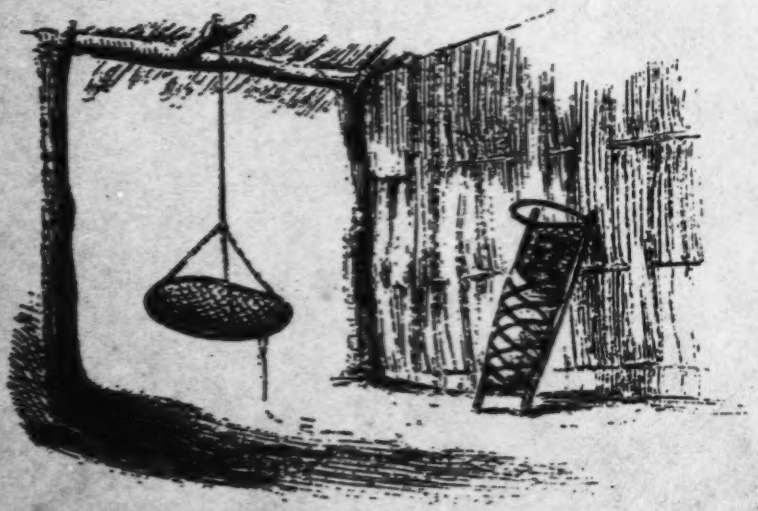

FIGURE 78.—*Mapuche* cradles. (After Smith, 1855, p. 213.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until all the child's teeth were cut (Latcham, 1909, p. 360), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 18 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713).

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Guninde (1936, passim) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with mud (Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:241–42; 1908, p. 222). Félix José (1916, 1:91) lists the verb koftun, meaning to kill an infant and roast its testicles in a heated pot, as done sometimes by an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her unfaithful lover—so making him impotent (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 222; 1929, 2:242). The present writer has come across no specific mention of contraceptive practices; apparently in recent

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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bing their bodies to cleanse (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235; Cox, 1863, p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149–50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Mansilla, 1877, 2:46; cf. Falkner, 1935, p. 91), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean *Araucanians* (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280). 177

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 large toldos occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman of the group. The "caciques" listed by De las Casas (1836–37, 5:95–101) had each from 6 to 30 warriors, in one case 60, under them. 621 622

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 142–43), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a kuga name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but not by a stranger. 551

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130–33), to be born with more than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladderlike cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1931 b, p. 79); for croup they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of putrefied urine, a kind of "alcali," and gunpowder. 826 847 854

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 881

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:247–48; and Barbará, 1879, pp. 175–76, and 1930, p. 39, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 159–60) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

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varied from 3 to 11. One informant had 6 children (3 boys and 3 girls); another, 10, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of whom had died. A 51-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead: the oldest was 25; the youngest, 1 year and 8 months. One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 9 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted.

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

An expectant mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born: the mother carries a boy 9 months; a girl, less time than that." The day of delivery is not reckoned, even approximately. "She [pointing at a listener-in] went into her yard to get wood; her baby was born while she was out there; it came so unexpectedly. One woman here who enjoys dancing those Chilean dances gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her ruka."

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why else treat it like a human being at once after birth?" One woman reasoned that it might be human earlier, "for if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people."

ABORTIONS

An occasional expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are induced to any extent today," said the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist, "for most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Araucanian women, the abortifacients have to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which powdered alum and soap used in washing had been dissolved, water into which the setting of a grindstone had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1946, p. 733) notes that Guaiinde lists

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847 different plant abortifacients. A non-Araucanian was called to assist two unmarried pregnant girls who were dying—their mother and an older sister had worked the abdomen of the girls, even to hitting them with boards, to cause them to abort. "A family is very much embarrassed and deeply ashamed when a girl of the family gives birth out of wedlock," noted the informant. Spontaneous abortions were known to have occurred in instances where an expectant mother was overcome with fright.

[848]

SEX PREFERENCE AND SEX PREDICTION

842 Boys have always been preferred to girls ("a man hates his wife if she gives him only girls") because a son will assist his father with work; he can be the father of a family; and he returns to his paternal home, bringing his bride with him. A girl, on the contrary, marries and goes away from home; she pays no more attention to her parents. "Girls do not seem to care how parents get along." During the days of attack by the Argentine army, boys were especially preferred; men were needed to protect the people. "In fact, we prayed to God in the ŋillatun [tribal religious ceremonial] to have boys born to us." However, a girl is in no way made to feel the fact that she is not a boy.

Informants were agreed that there is no preference regarding the first-born child, but that if children are all of one sex parents are disappointed. Two non-Araucanians had heard that, formerly, if the first-born was a girl, it was killed. This was not verified. A decoction taken by the woman was known to have been used effectively when boys were desired, but no informant knew its ingredients. If only girls are born to a family, the man procures the decoction from a specialist, usually an old man or an old woman. "A man who had only girls used to pass by our ruka every month on his way to a woman herbalist who lived across the river. He went there to get something which his wife drank so that they would have some boys. He used to come back with his bottle filled. That year they had a boy. He was so grateful that he gave the herbalist a sheep. The decoction had to be taken while the moon was gaining, and only the wife drank it. The man saw the woman mix well-beaten white of eggs with the sap of green seeds of limpia plata and the juice of several other plants which the woman did not let him see. Since I had only boys, I asked him if the woman could give me something to drink to have girls. He obviously never found out for he did not tell me. And I never tried to find out. I thought it best to be satisfied with what God sends."

It is believed, too, that if a man at any time cuts his fingernails

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were badly crippled," she said. " I massaged them, and also his head, for his fontanels were far apart. I kept a band tied about his head. He would not nurse until he was two days old. To wean him I gave him solid foods—he choked on these. In fact, he choked on food until he was seven years old. Whenever he did so, I reached into his throat with two fingers [indicated third and fourth] and removed the food. Some women used to chide me for not having poked my fingers down his throat when he was a baby and thus cleared his throat for always, then. But it was not our custom to do that."

In Chan Chan of Alepúe area, children were born with soft bones, a condition non-Araucanian herbalists believed due to calcium deficiency. Four such children were born to one couple; two to each of three others; and one to another. All but one of the 11 children died when two or three years of age; one lived to be six.

A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a child, who was then one year old, whose parents kept it hidden from view because they were ashamed of its deformed face. The child, when a few months old, had fallen into the fire while tied to its cradle, the mother having left a small child to tend the baby while she went to fetch water. Because of a scar the child's lower eyelid was drawn out of position.

No crippled children or adults were seen during the present study. A non-Araucanian who had lived 50 years among the Araucanians was certain that no crippled child had been killed in recent years, but he knew with certainty that formerly a child born crippled or one thought mentally so weak as to leave no hope of normal development was killed. Cooper's source states that deformed children were thrown into the water or were suffocated with mud, as were children born out of wedlock (1946, p. 733).

A sick child is given herbal decoctions made of household remedies of the kinds given to adults, only in smaller or diluted dosages. "Every mother knows what to give." If these fail, an Araucanian woman herbalist is sent for. Formerly, if the remedies of the Araucanian herbalists were not effective, parents called in a machi to perform a machitun. In recent years a non-Araucanian herbalist is usually called in before the machi is, but if no cure is forthcoming, the machi is invited to take over. A machitun had been performed over 3 of 53 school children in Alepúe area. A baby's first and subsequent baths are thought to insure good health.

No Araucanian was known to have been born blind; nor was a case of blindness known to non-Araucanian herbalists except an Alepúe woman who lost the sight of an infected eye when she was 2 years old. Wall-eyed children and adults were frequently seen in all areas. Deafness is very rare; no case of total deafness was known.

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847 [845] Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Cañaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 848 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed by its mother. She is known to do so in Cañaripe area. "A daughter of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

145 Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen. Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 158 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Cañaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 736 593 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a normal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in A Chilean orphanage.

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weaned my child slowly, but if it bit me while nursing I gave it a slap, and that ended the nursing." Generally, however, if weaning was an abrupt affair, the child was taken to the house of a relative or neighbor, and left there for three or four days so that the mother would not hear it cry. "It will cry much during the first night, but after that, not very much." When the child is returned to its mother, the mother puts a repellent on her nipples, such as chili or the bitter-tasting ajenjo, or garlic-smelling ajo. Fur repellent was not used. When nursing ends, the milk is pressed from the mother's breast and poured into a brook, the belief being that if it is poured on dry land the mother's breasts will dry and incapacitate her for nursing children yet to be born to her. 862

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins, but no other multiple births, were known among the Araucanians, and, according to the oldest informants, not even twins were born to them in very early days. "But suddenly there were several sets," said an 80-year-old woman; "and since then one hears of a pair born occasionally." Most informants told of a woman who had given birth to two sets of twins: one set lived, the other died. All four grandparents of the twins were pure Araucanians, a relative insisted. Twins were of either or of both sexes. There was no way of predicting twins before birth. 845

All informants, except an 85-year-old man, agreed that twins were not desired; that people were frightened when they were born; that they were a punishment from God, because "the people had laughed at an animal that had twins or triplets—goats, you know, sometimes have triplets." Women did not want twins because of the work of bringing up two children at the same time. The 85-year-old man said the father liked his twin children and provided for them; he and his wife were visited by persons who congratulated them and said, "What luck you have had to have twins." Parents of twins were not presented with gifts.

One of a pair of twins was not killed—"there is too much love for children in our people ever to kill a child. Old people used to say, however, that if one twin died, the other would also soon die." [847]

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

No information was collected on incest. A child born out of wedlock—spoken of as a "natural" child—was a rare thing formerly. "It [835] 849

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848 could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

[558] Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil; quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the [684] baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand; one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the [847] child as it came." No child was known to have been born with polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

955 A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child, and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less 755 than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it, left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

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835 of terminal assistance to his sister, saying that he would be willing to give her money on which to live but that he could not stand the disgrace of having her in his house and would not see her again. By the time he returned home his son had left the household.

The woman could not abort her baby. When the child was eventually born, she neglected it until one day it toppled into the fire and was severely burned. She took the child to a neighbor's house and asked that it be cared for until she obtained salve for the burn in town. She never returned, and is said to have gone to Santiago.

Someone who was friendly with the woman's brother brought the child to him, asking that he do something about caring for it. The child had "no place." Its mother had made difficulty for her dead husband's family, who never entered directly into any phase of this negotiation and did not want the child.

At the time of my stay on the reservation, the child was living with his mother's brother's family. He was crippled from the burn inflicted by falling into the fire several years before. They had built a special stroller for him in order that he might have enough support to walk and strengthen his legs. He was considered one of his uncle's sons, the fiction being rationalized on the grounds that the child would suffer less shame in this way and would have "a place."

There was no idea of retribution connected with the child's injury and lameness. His mother was not reviled by her brother, who said that she had probably already suffered enough. But neither she nor the child's father would be allowed to return to the reservation to live, since the other residents and the chief would not permit it.

836 754 762 [848] [849] The third example is one of unrequited love, sorcery, and suicide. Through the practice of *koftun*, which consists of roasting an infant's testicles over a witch's fire, the lover can be made sterile. Unwed mothers sometimes avenge themselves in this way, rather than reveal their lover's name to their family. Such supernatural machinations are rarely resorted to today, however, without first attempting to abort. If early abortion is unsuccessful and the woman's feeling is sufficiently bitter, she will take the baby—which is often stillborn after the vigorous efforts to abort it—to a witch who performs *koftun*. [848] If the child is born alive, the mother might relent and discard her plans of supernatural vengeance on her lover. There are reports, though, of such children being killed by suffocation so that their testicles may be removed and *koftun* carried out.

In the case called to my attention the child was stillborn. The

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mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Koftun* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *koftun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.)

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *koftun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *koftun* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1955, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry.

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white.

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored.